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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of ***Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.*** The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2435th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 17 May 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2435)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings devoted to this item [*2431st to 2434th meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I also invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Grenada, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, Venezuela and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsaly (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Congo and Uganda in which they asked to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mangouta (Congo) and Mr. Otunnu (Uganda) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Venezuela. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. MARTINI URDANETA (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Venezuela I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We wish you every success in your work to further international understanding and peace. On behalf of my Government I wish also to congratulate the representative of the United States of America, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, on the excellent and important work that she accomplished as Council President during April.

5. The situation in Central America is a source of great concern to Venezuela. Venezuelan democracy has over the years made wide-ranging efforts, both alone and together with other countries, in strict fulfilment of the principles of international social justice and non-intervention, to contribute to the political, social and economic development of the Central American countries and so to contribute to peace in the region as a whole and in the countries that compose the region.

6. Injustices, inequalities and imbalances persisting over many years have generated situations of growing tension and conflict. Furthermore, explosive and disruptive elements alien to Central America have been prolif-

erating in the region, to the detriment of the internal peace, freedom and sovereignty of the countries of the region.

7. Venezuela has participated very actively in all the sincere initiatives aimed at achieving peace in connection with the Central American conflict and at ensuring a strictly regional solution to Latin American problems. We possess the necessary skills and the maturity, and the necessary will also, as has been demonstrated in the decisions reached on 12 May [*see S/15762, annex*] by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora Group—which undoubtedly will contribute to achieving détente and lasting peace in the region.

8. The Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela met at Panama City on 11 and 12 May this year in order, first, to consider the request of the Costa Rican Government for the establishment of an observer commission; secondly, to follow the course of the debate in the Security Council; and, lastly, to consider a programme of work for the next meeting of the Contadora Group Ministers with the five Foreign Ministers of the Central American countries, to be held at Panama beginning on 28 May.

9. With that agenda before them, the Ministers held various lengthy meetings which answered the questions that had been raised and the expectations which had been aroused. It was agreed that an observer commission should be sent, composed of two representatives of each of their countries, to carry out a fact-finding study *in situ*, evaluate the circumstances and submit whatever recommendations were considered appropriate. Likewise, the Contadora Ministers noted "with deep concern the development of the Central American conflict . . . and the repeated violation of essential principles of the international legal order" [*ibid.*].

10. We consider it fitting to reaffirm once again Venezuela's readiness to continue to participate actively in regional peace initiatives in pursuance of the goal established by the Contadora Group: to seek a stable and lasting peace in the region. That goal explains our decision not to take a position on a draft resolution which involves matters under discussion that might affect our mediation function. We believe that we must pay attention to that very important aspect of our work in order to maintain the natural balance required for any mediation.

11. I should like in this statement, on behalf of my Government, to express thanks for the many expressions of interest and encouragement addressed to the members of the Contadora Group with regard to the concrete desire, already partially translated into specific measures, to seek peaceful solutions.

12. That encouragement calls for commitment on our part. We cannot evade our responsibilities and must move forward as long as the parties concerned so desire. It is for that reason that the Contadora Group has extended a formal invitation to the five Central American Foreign Ministers to hold a working meeting in Panama on 28, 29 and 30 of this month, thus making it possible for the Central American countries "to help attain the goal of peace and, to that end, to apply their political will to the search for ways leading to dialogue and understanding to settle their current differences" [*ibid.*].

13. We should like to take this opportunity to recall, just as the Ministers of the Contadora Group have done, that the international community must uphold, *inter alia*, the principles of self-determination and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for acts of aggression against others, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts.

14. On behalf of my Government, I pledge that we shall do all in our power to attain those goals and fully comply with these principles. Venezuela has been reaffirming them for a long time and has implemented them, as is acknowledged by the international community.

15. Peace is not only an aspiration of all the countries of our region. It must also be the commitment of all, equally and without exception.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ALBÁN HOLGUÍN (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, I thank you and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to participate in this debate. We are pleased to join in the expressions of congratulation extended to you on your assumption of the Council presidency for the month of May. We are certain that your experience and your skill will help you greatly in guiding the work of the Council efficiently.

18. Once again the international community is concerned with a situation which is developing and growing worse with unusual speed. The Council is once more devoting its attention to the problem of Nicaragua and the Central American region. The sufferings of so many people and the loss of lives are of deep concern to my country, which sees in all these events a serious threat to the peace.

19. The origins of the situation predate our own generation; they include the backwardness of countries and regions that face the tragic realities of the world in which we live—a shrinking world because of existing means of communication which have helped create an awareness of such unjust situations—realities which have shown some nations that they are obliged to face them and to seek urgent solutions.

20. Our delegation has followed this debate with interest and care and wishes to make the following observations.

21. Colombia has always trusted in the effectiveness of dialogue and negotiation, even at times of serious turmoil and violence. Dialogue with a view to understanding and coexistence is irreplaceable and constitutes a vital element for orderly relations between States and for the maintenance of peace and security.

22. What the countries of the so-called Contadora Group have done is to fulfil the diplomatic function of promoting constructive dialogue among all the parties concerned in the conflict besetting the Central American region. But for this diplomatic mission of dialogue to achieve positive results there is a need to harmonize interests, overcome differences, seek formulas for bringing views closer together and, most important, secure the willingness of the countries concerned, without which there can be no mediation and no good offices.

23. It is in order to avoid a worsening of the situation that the countries of the Contadora Group have in a spirit of full co-operation devoted their best efforts in terms of active and constant steps, familiar to Council members, in order to bring all the countries of the region to the negotiating table in a joint search for the paths towards understanding, mutual respect and peace among States.

24. The Contadora initiative, which is taking place on the basis of a regional solution avoiding East-West confrontation, has received the support of all countries that have taken part in this debate. The wish has been expressed that it be strengthened and that it be given a chance for success, in view of the willingness regarding dialogue and negotiation clearly expressed by the representatives of the countries directly involved in the conflict.

25. None the less, as has been stated, the problems of the region are multifaceted, and a series of specific questions must be resolved.

26. With a view to developing its objectives, the Contadora Group has carried out individual consultations with each of the Central American countries in successive stages, and rules of procedure have been studied to make it possible to establish a work programme covering a series of general and specific topics which could be discussed bilaterally or in a multilateral framework of regional scope.

27. But Colombia—which considers itself before anything else a State of law, one which perseveres in the task of replacing war and violence with a code of agreements reached in good faith that would make mutual relations possible—understands that the doctrines, principles and systems of the civilization to which the peoples of America belong compel us to respect the purposes and principles of the charter of our regional organization and that of this world body, which was set up to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We must accept the basic rules without which it is impossible to preserve peace and security. Failing that, our world may suffer a global conflagration.

28. Among these rules are the equal sovereignty of all nations large and small, self-determination and non-intervention in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of States, prohibition of the use of the territory of one State for acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts and the duty to fulfil in good faith the obligations that stem from treaties and other sources of international law.

29. The international golden rule of non-intervention allows for no skilful interpretations by anyone to the effect that what is ethical is what satisfies one's own interests, nor should it be ignored for incidental advantages. Only good faith and sincere good will can guarantee effective and lasting peace.

30. My country has noted with concern the worsening of the situation in Central America as a result of the repeated violation of those norms of international law. Not only Nicaragua and Honduras, but all the countries of the region complain of those violations. For that reason the Contadora Group is seeking a comprehensive solution in the region, but it is in no way opposed to bilateral negotiations.

31. My Government has also stressed economic and social development, because in so far as that aspect is emphasized, and in so far as priority is given to the serious economic problems of all countries, the attainment of international peace will be more feasible.

32. There is a real rebellion against backwardness and poverty. Those are the enemies that must be vanquished. Economic and political solidarity requires that we co-operate urgently to find solutions to the problems of injustice and instability that afflict the peoples of our hemisphere and of the third world.

33. That obligation is all the greater today, when the world is experiencing one of the worst economic crises of all times, when the greatest minds work in vain to find solutions. Development plans, growing unemployment, reduced commodity prices in the developing world, reduced demand on world markets—all present a discouraging picture that is unprecedented and has of course affected and threatened to disrupt institutions, democratic systems, freedom and international peace.

34. Naturally, the growing inequality and the absence of conditions of stability and well-being contain the seeds of rivalry and conflict. The magnitude of the gap between the rich nations and the less developed nations continues to increase. We must make no mistake: it is in the growing economic imbalances that the greatest dangers to peace reside. We have before us the great task of pacification, as well as a great commitment to development.

35. As the Foreign Minister of my country, Mr. Rodrigo Lloreda, has stated, peace can be obtained not through magic formulas but rather through persevering and dynamic action.

36. To Colombia the situation in the Caribbean region is of direct and immediate interest. For many geographical and historical reasons we have irrevocable commitments to that region's destiny. Social imbalances in Central America are profound; its economic injustices are unbearable. That part of the hemisphere presents a disturbing picture that warrants our efforts and the crusade for peace that has been undertaken by the Contadora countries.

37. The Contadora diagnoses join fundamental values and a realistic position. As was indicated in the statement made by the President of Colombia, Belisario Betancur, on the Mexican island of Cozumel:

> "Our values are based on Latin American claims. Just like Mexico, Colombia views with deep concern the crisis in the Central American isthmus, a crisis whose roots should not be sought in East-West confrontation but rather in the distressing reality of their peoples rising up to overcome the past and to pave the way for a future of social change, economic progress and national development."

38. As the members of the Council are aware, and as has already been stated by several preceding speakers, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group, at their meeting in Panama on 11 and 12 of this month, studied the following topics: first, the request of the Costa Rican Government for an observer commission; secondly, the progress of the debate in the Security Council; and thirdly, the programme of work for the next meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contadora Group, which will be held with the five Foreign Ministers of the Central American countries in Panama, starting on 28 May.

39. In this connection the Contadora Foreign Ministers, acting within the framework of the principles that guide their conduct, considered the Costa Rican proposal to be related to the efforts to create conditions for peace in the region, and they decided to send an observer commission, consisting of two representatives from each of their countries, with the task of carrying out a study *in situ* in order to establish the facts, evaluate the circumstances and submit appropriate recommendations.

40. The Government of Nicaragua, in a note addressed to my Government signed by its Deputy Minister for External Relations, stated that it had no objection to the observer commission.

41. In view of the establishment of that observer commission, the Costa Rican Government spontaneously decided to postpone its debate before the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States.

42. In connection with the deliberations taking place in multilateral bodies, particularly the debate now under way in this Council, the Contadora Foreign Ministers feel that there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena. In this connection, the Foreign Ministers have extended a formal invitation to the five Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America to hold a working meeting at Panama on 28, 29 and 30 of this month. There is, therefore, a concrete working method, with a timetable for tackling these matters, their discussion in working groups and their consideration in plenary session. We urge Nicaragua and Honduras to conduct serious and constructive negotiations, taking advantage of the Contadora framework which has been established to facilitate this type of work. We would view with great interest other bilateral dialogue between the parties involved that might take place at that time.

43. This is the direction taken by the Contadora Group, and we believe it could lead to positive results. Colombia, a consistently peace-loving country, will not tire in its efforts and sincerely hopes that calm dialogue, prudence, political negotiation and mutual understanding will lead to reconciliation so that, together with the economic and social recovery of those countries, peace may be a lasting reality.

44. The Contadora Group has not so far requested the intervention of other multilateral bodies because it wishes to utilize all the peace-keeping measures available to it, but it does not in any way oppose requests for such involvement from the countries concerned or debates within those bodies. We believe that in due course, in view of the complexity of the process of restoring peace to Central America, the participation of those multilateral bodies may be necessary. Therefore, we believe that, when circumstances warrant it and when it is the consensus of the countries concerned that this is desirable, the Contadora Group could request the co-operation of the Secretary-General in helping to bring peace to Central America.

45. My country wishes once again to express its admiration and support for the Secretary-General for the work he has accomplished in complex situations and grave conflicts to guide the international community along the path of peace. It is a source of pride for us that an eminent Latin American with such excellent intellectual and human qualities should be guiding in such a dignified and intelligent way the Organization in which mankind has placed its highest hopes.

46. On behalf of my Government I should like to express appreciation of the international support given to the Contadora initiative, in particular to the Governments of Sweden, Argentina, Spain, Egypt, Ecuador, Yugoslavia, France, Peru, Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany and the other countries of the European Economic Community that have sent messages of support.

47. Colombia supports any measure that will strengthen development, justice, peace and stability in Central America.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

49. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like to express my delegation's pleasure at the fact that these delicate deliberations are being guided by a person of your known skill and experience.

50. As members of the Council know, the Government of Costa Rica reiterated the principles that underlie its foreign policy on 27 April last. In the document distributed under the symbol S/15749 there is a summary of those fundamental guidelines and some considerations which I should like to supplement today with an analysis of facts relevant to these deliberations.

51. The Government of Costa Rica reiterated at that time its unshakeable will, first, to respect and promote the right of all peoples to choose their own destiny and to establish the government and the institutions that they deem necessary, and secondly, to observe and promote strict compliance with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. Thirdly, it reiterated its conviction that disputes between States should be resolved peacefully and said that it would support any step to that end. Fourthly, it stressed its conviction that the principle of ideological pluralism, which prevails among our people, should be applied to international relations in order to promote dialogue, détente and peace among nations, whatever the ideological orientation of their Governments. Fifthly, it reiterated its desire that human rights be respected and its determination to strive to achieve that. Lastly, my Government reiterated its desire to apply and guarantee the right of asylum.

52. Our resolve strictly to respect those principles, which are the basis of international peace and security, has two natural consequences: first, our readiness to participate, as we have been doing, in all efforts, without exception, aimed at the promotion of peace and the coexistence of fraternal peoples; and secondly, our calling to maintain the policy of neutrality, which has characterized our history as regards the military conflicts that have pitted Central American nations against each other and the internal turmoil that has characterized the region's history.

53. The disbanding of the army as a permanent institution, raised to the level of a constitutional principle, has not been fully understood. Perhaps the most important aspect of this is that it demonstrates the will of the Costa Rican people to live in peace and to rely on internal legal machinery and international law for the settlement of all its disputes. Internally, we have already had nearly 35 years of stability, years dedicated to the cultivation of peace and democracy and to allocating our resources to the development of our people. In the international sphere, our limitations have been overcome by the moral force of ideas, by our respect for the principles of international law, by absolute trust in the principles of law, and by use of the institutions which are entrusted with the preservation of the peace and security of nations.

54. Whenever our peace has been threatened, our sovereignty attacked or our territorial integrity violated, we have always, without exception, had recourse to the invincible force of law in order to face senseless behaviour. Costa Rica has been a member of the Organization of American States (OAS) since its establishment and therefore feels that the peoples of the Americas should strictly live up to their commitment to strengthen a regional order which guarantees peace in our hemisphere. The OAS, we believe, is the proper legal mechanism for the promotion of peace and security.

55. Three times we have appealed to the OAS in defence of peace and law. We did so in 1949 to guarantee our territorial integrity. We did so again in 1955 for the same reason. In 1979 we appealed to the OAS to demand respect for our rights and to guarantee our neutrality in the face of the civil war which was afflicting the fraternal people of Nicaragua. Recently, we appealed to the OAS to guarantee and verify our neutrality *vis-à-vis* the forces opposing each other in Central America. Whenever we have appeared before the regional body we have found receptive attitudes, and we have been able to channel the efforts of our people to promote its highest interests.

56. That historical background justifies our obligation to strengthen regional legal mechanisms. We defend them too in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which, in paragraph 2 of Article 52, states:

> "The Members of the United Nations entering into such [regional] arrangements or constituting such [regional] agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council."

57. It should be clear that Costa Rica is interested in strengthening any mechanism that might help in the maintenance of peace and security and in the development of law. In the face of the upheaval afflicting Central America, not only have we placed our energies at the disposal of the OAS, but we have given our full support to the work of sister nations which are responding to the turmoil and despair of the Central American peoples.

58. The Governments of four fraternal countries—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—have, through their Foreign Ministers, established a good-offices group in order to bring about the peace and stability so urgently needed by the peoples of Central America. That group has come to be known as the Contadora Group. Once more we Costa Ricans have felt compelled to encourage and strengthen any effort made in the interest of peace and security.

59. We have placed on the shoulders of the Contadora Group the task of verifying and guaranteeing Costa Rica's neutrality. We have received from it generous actions and a readiness for sacrifice: such are the good offices of four countries whose actions have deserved the applause of all Governments of the region, without exception. Today, Costa Rica and the world at large have one more mechanism to promote peace and the observance of law. We Costa Ricans feel in duty bound not to cease our efforts to strengthen it in its quest for peace and stability.

60. When the Contadora Grou, accepted the task of verifying and guaranteeing our neutrality, it sent a document to our Foreign Ministry in which the four Foreign Ministers stated their view that "this initial phase should be conducted within the subregional framework"—I stress "subregional"—"which has characterized the Contadora initiative, in which our countries are participating with the sole aim of serving the cause of peace".

61. Receptive to the appeal of the Contadora Group Ministers, and in order to strengthen the initiatives which are going forward at the subregional level, Costa Rica has left pending its request before the OAS. That is because of our conviction that the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela will be able to achieve substantial progress at the subregional level, owing to their authority and their determination. It is Costa Rica's wish that the Contadora Ministers will have the greatest possible autonomy in order to accomplish their difficult task.

62. Accordingly, my country wishes to make very clear its position in this debate. The concern of my country and the peoples of Central America is for peace, security and the strict observance of the principles of international law. Last week, we expelled from our territory those who were endangering our neutrality. Also last week, we appealed to the good offices of four sister nations whose action is welcomed by the peoples and Governments of Central America. We do not believe that this Council should weaken subregional or regional mechanisms. Nor do we believe that the Council should, by issuing a mandate, limit the autonomy of the Secretary-General, who enjoys our respect and our trust.

63. The Council should leave the initiative in the hands of the four Latin American Foreign Ministers. Out of respect for the Charter of the United Nations, it should wait until all the possibilities afforded by regional machinery have been fully explored. That, Costa Rica believes, would be the best way of promoting peace, security and the observance of international law in Central America.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Sao Tome and Principe. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

65. Mr. CASSANDRA (Sao Tome and Principe): I am grateful to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in this important debate. My delegation also welcomes your assumption of the Council presidency for this month. We believe that your qualities and your vast experience as a diplomat will make an effective contribution to the success of the Council's work.

66. It seems appropriate to mention in our modest contribution to this debate that it is indeed ironic, and a matter of shame to my delegation, to hear once again of the duplicity of one of the Council's permanent members with regard to covert support for "contras", whose aim is to overthrow the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. Recent debates have called attention as never before to the Council's responsibility to do what seems necessary to encourage dialogue between the countries involved and have called into question the wisdom of surrendering the important question of world peace and security.

67. In the face of developments in Central America, my Government is increasingly concerned to note that an infernal machine is being used against Nicaragua to weaken its human and material resources and prevent it from strengthening its true programme of national reconstruction. There is already a great deal of evidence available on the activities of these "contras" and on those who for selfish reasons continue to encourage them and also finance them by all possible means to carry on their military operation, without the support or sometimes even without the knowledge of their electorates. Instead of a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the issue, the imperialist force continues to pursue a very dangerous course, siding with the Somozist armed gangs and other counter-revolutionaries who are, like the arms they carry, available to anyone who can afford them.

68. Is paramilitary activity to be permitted as a method of evading such public scrutiny as is provided by the Boland Amendment?

69. Sao Tome and Principe, as a matter of general policy, does not like to interfere in the internal affairs of any country. We believe that any State has the right to freely choose its own political, social and economic system. Likewise, we believe in the non-use of force and in good-neighbourliness and friendly relations between States. Our solidarity and moral support for the people and Government of Nicaragua at this crucial moment are, above all, owing to the fact that it feels threatened by one of the major Powers and because its sovereignty and territorial integrity have been violated.

70. As stated by my Minister for Foreign Affairs,

> "What credence can we place in words, when facts, in their intolerable cruelty and provocation, mark the frontiers between oppression and freedom, between exploitation and social justice, between betrayal and principles and, ultimately, between war and peace?"

71. In this context of claims and counter-claims, it is the responsibility of the Security Council to distinguish very clearly between the aggressor and the victim and,

furthermore, to affirm the real value of its role by assisting in bringing about the restoration of peace in the area while denouncing the fascist morality of the paid killer.

72. Finally, my delegation wishes to join those delegations which have welcomed the initiatives already taken by the Government of Mexico and other regional States and the good offices of the Secretary-General aimed at engaging all the interested parties to the conflict in a bilateral dialogue which will definitely contribute to the relaxation of tension in Central America.

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

74. Mr. VONGSALY (Lao People's Democratic Republic): It is a great honour for me, after my assumption of office just a few days ago, to be able to present to the Council the views of the Lao Government on the question of extreme importance which it is discussing today. My delegation would like to thank you, Mr. President, as well as Council members for granting it such an opportunity. Please accept my warm congratulations on your assumption of the prestigious post of President for this month. I am sure that, thanks to your vast diplomatic experience and your wisdom, the Council's deliberations will be led to a fruitful conclusion.

75. Once again, we are witnessing a large-scale aggression committed by remnants and mercenaries of Somoza against the heroic Republic of Nicaragua. It is public knowledge that that invasion, like the previous ones, has been masterminded by the United States Administration and launched from the territory of a neighbouring country, Honduras. This undeclared war of aggression, in which, in addition to the barbarous Somozist counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries trained and armed to the teeth by the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States military, important units of the Honduran armed forces were reportedly taking part, not only violates flagrantly the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Nicaragua, but also constitutes a very grave threat to peace and security in Central America, the Caribbean, and the world at large. Needless to say, these hostile activities, ranging from political pressure and subversion and economic blockade to armed provocations and invasion, run counter to the sacrosanct principles of the Charter of the United Nations governing relations among States.

76. The Security Council, whose main responsibility under the Charter is to maintain peace and security in the world, must, we believe, take urgent and appropriate action in order to deal with this crisis situation. From the very beginning, the Lao people and Government have been following with great concern the events occurring in that part of the world. It is true that Laos and Nicaragua are thousands of kilometres apart, but our two countries and our two peoples are bound together by close ties of friendship and solidarity, since they shared the same colonial and neo-colonial heritage, fought against the common enemy and pursue the same ideals: peace, independence, freedom, democracy and social progress.

77. Of course, the radical social, political and economic change brought about by the victorious Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua in July 1979 has not been at all to the liking of the United States imperialists and their allies in the region. This is very understandable, because these circles were dreaming of restoring the dictatorial Somoza régime. But it is regrettable that the United States Administration goes on ignoring the legitimate and fervent aspirations of the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba, El Salvador and other countries to lead a peaceful life and pursue a free and independent political, social and economic development process. These are their fundamental and inalienable rights under the Charter and other relevant international covenants. The United States Administration keeps accusing—baselessly—the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua of subverting El Salvador, a charge which has been repeatedly dismissed by Nicaragua. Very recently, speaking before a joint session of Congress, President Reagan said, among other things, that the United States Administration does not have any plan to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. The Nicaraguan people and Government would, perhaps, like to believe him. But the actual facts and happenings on the spot, as described by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua before the Council last week [*2431st meeting*] so comprehensively, clearly and convincingly, constitute formal denial of what has been said by the United States Government and its representative here.

78. However, it is gratifying to note that the just cause of the people of Nicaragua, under the wise and resolute leadership of its Government, enjoys the unstinted support of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and peoples all over the world that love peace and justice. The heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, during their Seventh Conference in March 1983 at New Delhi, strongly condemned the hostile activities to which Nicaragua was subjected. Also in March, shortly after the New Delhi summit, while Nicaragua was the victim of aggression from the same source, the Lao Government issued a statement [*S/15679, annex*] in which it expressed full support for the Nicaraguan people and Government and condemned the United States Government and its ally for their rash and vicious actions.

79. My delegation expresses its full support for the peace proposals put forward by the Nicaraguan Government, which it finds to be comprehensive, constructive and realistic. It should be emphasized that those proposals reflect the spirit and the letter of the Contadora declaration by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela last January.[1] But this process, which, *inter alia*, implies direct bilateral talks between the parties involved, cannot be workable unless the acts of aggression and other subversive activities of which Nicaragua is currently the victim are immediately and unconditionally stopped.

80. The Lao delegation earnestly hopes that the Security Council will take the appropriate measures demanded by the urgency of the situation. We believe that the mission of good offices which the Council will, we hope, entrust to the Secretary-General will happily supplement the untiring efforts being made by the Contadora Group with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the present grave crisis.

81. The Lao people and Government reiterate once again their unshakeable support for and solidarity with the heroic Nicaraguan people in their just cause of defending their homeland, preserving the glorious achievements of the Sandinist revolution and carrying out national reconstruction and development in the interest of the peace, stability and security of the whole region and of the world at large.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

83. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, your past experience in the United Nations is serving you well as you now demonstrate your skill in conducting the work of the Council. We are convinced that you will bring the discussions now under way to a successful conclusion. We congratulate you on the assumption of the presidency.

84. On 24 March I expressed before the Council [*2422nd meeting*] the serious concern that my Government felt at the crisis affecting the Central American region, and on 20 April the Spanish Council of Ministers published a declaration on this subject. Today we are facing a situation which is perhaps graver than that facing us at that time, and the Government of Spain wishes once again to express its views on the causes of this crisis and possible ways of resolving it.

85. I wish to emphasize once again that, in our view, the Central American crisis is closely related to the processes of change in which that region is immersed. It stems from the profound social and economic imbalances and the structural problems that have been neither corrected nor resolved to meet the just social and political aspirations of the peoples. Therefore, an attempt to place the Central American crisis within the framework of East-West confrontation, in addition to disregarding the real roots of the problem, might seriously hamper the possibility of finding a solution.

86. The Government of Spain greatly appreciates the joint efforts made by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela with the Governments of the countries of the region to seek just and reasonable solutions. We welcome the fact that, at the meeting at Panama City on 11 and 12 May, the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group decided to send an observer commission to the border region between Costa Rica and Nicaragua and unequivocally reaffirmed the principles of self-determination, non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of States, the non-use of the territory of a State for acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts. Those are principles which the Government of Spain has always defended. In particular, in the context of the Central American crisis, we fully support the reaffirmation of those principles by the Contadora Foreign Ministers. They are also the principles that should govern the Council's deliberations and inspire any decision that results from them.

87. The volume of the attacks against the territory of Nicaragua and the growing number of troops used, apparently with the aim of destabilizing the Government of that country, has caused a worsening of the situation in Nicaragua.

88. The Government of Spain—which is particularly concerned at the escalating loss of human life and material damage and feels as its own the suffering of the Central American peoples, to whom the Spanish people are bound by strong ties—considers it essential that all the parties involved in the Central American problem make urgent efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to all the problems of the region, since that can only benefit all the peoples of the American continent. We express our most fervent hope that the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group will be able, through their work, which enjoys the complete support of the Spanish Government, to find an acceptable basis for a just and lasting solution to that problem.

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of El Salvador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

90. Mr. ROSALES-RIVERA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I should like to say that we are very pleased to see you presiding over these deliberations of the Council. Your experience is a guarantee that your responsible functions will be correctly carried out.

91. Once again El Salvador is about to make a statement with the knowledge that we are taking part in a debate that is to a great extent repetitive and sterile and that there is no desire on the part of the party that called for the meeting of the Council to find a solution to the problems being experienced by Central America at this time. Rather, this is another exercise in distracting attention and making propaganda with a view to silencing the criticisms that are levelled at the Sandinist Junta in Nicaragua. This has been done at the expense of the effectiveness of this Organization. Even so, I have been instructed to express certain considerations concerning the Central American problems now under study.

92. First of all, in the present circumstances we cannot think that this is the appropriate forum in which to try to resolve the crisis situation in Central America, since the countries of the Central American region do not have confidence in it. Furthermore, it has become a forum in which parties which are not qualified to deal with Central

American problems participate, many of them influenced by orders and alliances directed by a super-Power from outside this continent. Setting aside diplomatic language, we must bluntly point out that that is El Salvador's view.

93. Compliance with the golden rule that regional problems should be resolved in the regional framework which has already been institutionalized and has proved itself as the proper forum becomes more imperative every day, not only for reasons of compliance with the charter of the OAS, under the rule of *pacta sunt servanda*, but also in pursuance of the guidelines of a policy which prescribes that inter-American problems should be resolved through the mechanism established by those countries themselves for that purpose. Similarly we Latin Americans believe that the problems between African States should be resolved by the Organization of African Unity.

94. Secondly, the convening of the Council at this time is inappropriate, inopportune and unproductive. In the present circumstances, from any standpoint, even if an attempt be made to conceal the fact or excuse it with a *mea culpa*, this is an affront, to say the least, to the work of the Contadora Group. Only two weeks before that Group meets again to consider formulas for a constructive solution, this comedy is mounted in the Security Council, a comedy that involves, at the request of Nicaragua, countries that are fifth-rate actors, at least morally and politically. For example, this morning we heard the representatives of Iran and Libya speaking out against the Government of El Salvador. To the representative of Iran we would say that we find the theory of Satan ludicrous, to say the least. We see that the outcast régime of Iran, which is, of course, enjoying heavenly peace internally and with all its neighbours, and which has banished the word "war" from its political lexicon, feels entitled to intervene in our affairs with the authority deriving from the thousands of summary executions it has carried out of opponents of that régime, which is considered by our region to be completely anachronistic. We shall make reference to Libya later.

95. On Friday afternoon [*2432nd meeting*] we heard a singular voice in this chamber. I am not referring to Seychelles, Algeria or Ethiopia—which have nothing to do with this matter and which would have done better to adopt the prudent attitude of the overwhelming majority of the Latin American countries, which even by their silence are making a positive contribution to the Council's deliberations—but to a statement accompanied by a publicity display which linked the Secretary-General, in his official capacity, to the efforts of the Contadora Group. That impertinent comment raises doubts about the seriousness and impartiality of that Government, which was certainly speaking for itself, and not on instructions from others. That calls for the following commentary from us.

96. The members of the Council are aware that the work of the Contadora Group was undertaken as a fragile hope, but nevertheless a hope, and as an effort at delicate diplomacy. Therefore the question arises, why artificially link that endeavour, as stated in a certain paper that has been circulated, with activities of the United Nations, when the introduction of this external and extraregional factor will inevitably result in the failure of the efforts of the Contadora Group, which must, as a *sine qua non* of its effectiveness, secure the consent of each and every one of the Central American countries?

97. What I have just stated has been acknowledged very clearly in the information bulletin [*S/15762, annex*] issued after the meeting held at Panama City on 11 and 12 May 1983. In two of its paragraphs, the following is stated:

> "The Ministers for External Relations of the Contadora Group, acting in accordance with the principles which guide their conduct, recalled that the original and essential purpose of the formation of the Group was to fulfil a diplomatic role designed to seek the settlement of conflicts through political means, relying on the co-operation of the parties involved."

I stress the words "relying on the co-operation of the parties involved". Its goes on to say:

> "From this perspective, the Contadora Group believes that its work should focus on the concentration of political efforts to promote dialogue, understanding and, in general, the development of political machinery which, with the co-operation of the States concerned, can ensure the full attainment of their objectives."

Again, I stress the words "with the co-operation of the States concerned".

98. If that is the real essence of the work of the Contadora Group, is it not the case that the introduction of this external and extraregional element, which extrapolates Central American problems and which puts into motion the chain of cause and effect, is what is really sought by Nicaragua and the countries that support it as the final destiny of the Group?

99. If there are four Central American countries opposed to the forcible introduction of extraregional elements in the working of the Contadora Group, what then is the purpose of unreasonably insisting on that point?

100. El Salvador has thus far supported the Contadora Group as it has been established. New elements or changes in the Group without our consent would compel us to withdraw our willingness to co-operate.

101. El Salvador has been pleased to note the view expressed by the Contadora Group on the meetings of the Council. It was stated:

> "It would be highly desirable that in the deliberations taking place in the aforementioned forums, and especially those currently under way in the Security

Council, there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena.

"These principles include: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for committing acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts." [*Ibid.*]

And nothing further was added to this.

102. In the same context, it is enlightening to read the joint communiqué issued in Panama on 21 April 1983, which states:

"Having met in Panama City, the Foreign Ministers of the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, in response to the kind invitation extended by the Foreign Ministers of Panama, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, countries of the Contadora Group, issued the following joint communiqué:

"'1. On Tuesday, 19 April of this year, we met in this city, animated by the highest spirit of Central Americanism and inspired by our sincere desire for peace and concern at the regional conflict, in search of solutions conducive to the restoration of harmony and security in the region.

"'2. The meeting was convened in order to continue consultations begun by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group with each of the Central American countries during the brief, successive visits they made to the Governments of the five Central American republics on the 12th and 13th of this month.

"'3. A relevant occurrence prior to the beginning of the meeting was a discussion on the methodology to be adopted for consultations on the regional problems.

"'4. As a result of the consultations at that meeting, the participating Governments will jointly discuss, at a forthcoming meeting, the procedure and the agenda that will serve as a basis for the talks aimed at seeking constructive and peaceful solutions guaranteeing harmonious coexistence within the framework of respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the self-determination of peoples.

"'5. We reaffirm our readiness to continue to make efforts to achieve effective understanding between the Central American countries, and in that spirit we are prepared to meet next May.

"'6. Lastly, we record our appreciation for the valuable conciliatory work done by the Foreign Ministers of Panama, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela, and we express thanks for the hospitality extended to us by the Government of Panama.'"

103. An attempt to compartmentalize problems that, because of the dynamics of the facts as they have been presented, are necessarily interrelated within a regional framework is to distort the political reality of the region. El Salvador thus again rejects any bilateral approach which might be suggested, even though it might be in the guise of good-offices procedures.

104. As was stated by the Foreign Minister of El Salvador, Mr. Fidel Chávez-Mena, on 28 March in the Security Council, there exists an "accumulation of evidence that the Nicaraguan Government has been one of the primary factors of instability in Central America" [*see 2425th meeting, para. 13*]. The Minister continued:

"El Salvador has been the victim of—among other belligerent and hostile acts—the continued transfer of weapons, the last link in the chain being our neighbour Republic of Nicaragua, which acts under the aegis of a misunderstood international solidarity and does not practise, and respects even less, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Central American States. As we all know, that principle includes not only one State's individual relations with another but also its relationships with various States and even international organizations themselves.

"Everyone is aware that the armed groups operating in El Salvador have their central headquarters in Nicaragua. It is there that decisions are made and logistic support is channelled—logistic support without which it would be impossible for them to continue in their struggle and without which they would have joined in the democratic process." [*Ibid., paras. 15 and 16.*]

105. For those who have closely followed the way in which the regional situation has been complicated, it will be clear that the truth about the arms traffic to El Salvador—for this has been prolonged and continuous from Nicaragua, although other routes have been used—daily became more evident, to the astonishment even of those who originally felt that ideological pluralism was going to prevail in Nicaragua and that, consequently, this pluralism would preserve in international relations the principle of non-aggression and the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of States.

106. It is quite true that the truth cannot be concealed for long. And to demonstrate that unassailable link between the Government of Nicaragua and the guerrilla forces in El Salvador, it suffices to mention the episode, surrounded by mystery, in which two guerrilla leaders—the two highest leaders, indeed, of a far-left faction—died in Nicaragua.

107. El Salvador, supported by sovereign right, reserves the right to present evidence, in good time and before the appropriate regional forum, of Nicaraguan aggression.

We should like to add that if, for each transfer of weapons from Nicaragua to El Salvador, we had convened the competent body, that body would have had to meet in permanent session as the result of the continuous nature of that arms traffic.

108. "The measure you use for others is the one that will be used for you." When Commander Ortega Saavedra, the Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua, in disrespect of the principle of non-intervention, set himself up as leader of the radical opposition groups in El Salvador and recommended in several international forums what he called a "negotiated solution", he was far from imagining that, because of the Sandinist Junta's dogmatism and sectarianism and its suppression of democratic values and principles, there would soon develop in Nicaragua a militant, active and powerful opposition.

109. We would like to see now whether what he was prescribing for El Salvador will be applied in Nicaragua, for some ingenuous people are interested in the practical results of those political recipes in Central America. In the mean time, the Government of El Salvador will be conducting free elections for a new President of the Republic in an open, democratic process provided with all the necessary guarantees, in which it will be possible for every political ideology, without any discrimination whatsoever, to participate.

110. The repetitive nature of this debate and the hope that no senseless resolution will result from the Council's discussions that might hinder the work of the Contadora Group prompt me to stress our own approach to the problems of the region. Here I would recall the comments made by the Foreign Minister of El Salvador just a few days ago in the Council on this same topic. In the framework of the East-West confrontation, which undeniably exists, we cannot fail to condemn the role being played in Central America by Libya by introducing massive amounts of weapons into the region, thus making the conflict more acute and provoking an escalation of arms.

111. This morning [*2434th meeting*] the representative of Libya clearly acknowledged the diplomatic support it gives to terrorist actions in El Salvador. There is therefore not only a supply of weapons and equipment but also political backing for the ultra-leftist opposition in my country.

112. We saw how difficult it was for the representative of Libya to explain his link with the Soviet Union. No one had raised that question, but it is undoubtedly of considerable importance and it is obviously considered necessary to soothe the conscience of the Libyan people. He attempted to convince the Council that the Soviet Union is the natural ally of the third world countries and that the close relationship that exists today between the Sandinist Junta and that super-Power is a corollary of that fact.

113. Libya's view of the Soviet Union is its own affair, but what is a violation of international law is its introduction of tons of weapons into Central America with a view to destabilizing régimes, in spite of their respect for the policy of non-intervention and in spite of their consistent neutrality with regard to Libya's problems in Africa, which has not prevented Libya from playing a role detrimental to the peoples of Central America. Aircraft speak for themselves.

114. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Mali. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

115. Mr. TRAORÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): It is a particular pleasure for me to address to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. I do so with joy and with a certain degree of pride both because of the very sound relations that link our two countries and because we are convinced that the high office you have occupied in your country, Zaire, will ensure that you give an African touch to our deliberations here in the Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of the United States, on the skill with which she led the work of the Council during April, and to thank all the Council members for having allowed us to take part in its work.

116. For the third time in little more than a year the Council has been requested by Nicaragua to consider the situation prevailing both in that country and in Central America in general. The successive requests of Nicaragua can surely not be motivated merely by a desire to subject the Council to exercises in rhetoric, pure and simple. The Republic of Mali endorses the initiative of any State that calls the attention of the Council to a crisis rather than simply let things slide and rely upon the dubious verdict of arms. Broadly speaking, such an action bears witness to faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter and, more specifically, adherence to the provisions of Article 35, paragraph 1 of which states: "Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly", in other words, a dispute or a situation whose continuance "is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security".

117. The statements that have been made in this chamber, during both this series of meetings of the Council and those held in March 1982 and March 1983, on the same item which is still before the Council, and particularly the statements by representatives from Central America, corroborate the analysis made at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua from 10 to 14 January of this year with regard to the serious conflicts and tensions that afflict the region and the critical situation confronting the Latin American region.

118. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New

Delhi from 7 to 12 March of this year, recalled that the Managua meeting was convened taking into account the grave situation existing in the region, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. Moreover, the Conference noted with great concern the continuing tension in Central America.

119. Once again, Nicaragua has brought information before the Council attesting to the serious development of the situation, despite the fact that it has also had recourse to other bodies, for the Security Council, because of its nature and its functions, has specific and wide powers with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

120. Quite apart from economic and social factors, the head of State of Mali, President Moussa Traoré, in his statement before the General Assembly on 2 October 1981, drew the attention of the international community to the reasons for the deterioration of the international situation, particularly with respect to the third world. He said:

> "Outside Africa, through non-respect of the universal principles enshrined in the Charter—non-use of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the right of peoples to self-determination—hot-beds of war and tension, far from diminishing, are spreading."[2]

This analysis of the international situation was recently corroborated by the heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi, after they had considered the sources of the tensions now confronting Nicaragua and other Central American countries.

121. When he spoke in the Council on 9 May [*2431st meeting*], the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, after having described the situation in his country and in Central America, went on to state that he had come here to speak of peace and not war. Thus he eschewed any attempt to find a solution to international disputes by the threat or use of force and confirmed before the Council his Government's commitment to respect the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on the settlement of international disputes by dialogue, backed up by a genuine political desire to preserve world peace.

122. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, which has been proclaimed by all Member States, should therefore be applied without any reservation calling into question the very essence of that principle. The General Assembly meant just that when it adopted resolution 36/103, containing the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States. In that annex to that resolution the Assembly, in order to safeguard that principle, defined a set of rights and duties applicable to all States, among which we would mention the following:

> "The sovereign and inalienable right of a State freely to determine its own political, economic, cultural and social systems . . . and to exercise permanent sovereignty over its natural resources, in accordance with the will of its people, without outside intervention, interference, subversion, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever".[3]

That Declaration speaks for itself.

123. The international community would not be fulfilling its international obligations were it to attempt to assess sovereign policies drawn up and applied by States.

124. The question for discussion before the Council therefore has two facets which, were they to reflect matters not germane to the subject, could serve only to spread confusion and deflect the debate from its main objective, which is to restore peace in Central America. First, the situation in Central America is extremely disquieting and the events which have occurred in Nicaragua have tended to aggravate it. Secondly, as signatories to the Charter, the members of the Security Council, after concluding their debate on this matter, should seek to solve the problem within the framework of the relevant provisions of the Charter on the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

125. Regarding the second point, my delegation is particularly pleased that all the representatives of the Central American countries who have participated in the Council's debate have expressed the readiness of their Governments to be open to constructive dialogue in order that a pointless confrontation should not undermine the ties of friendship, brotherhood, solidarity and co-operation of which they have spoken and are quite legitimately proud.

126. In fact, this dialogue has already been initiated. In this connection reference has been made in particular to the initiative taken by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela at Contadora in order to bring about a cease-fire in Central America and thus make it possible for the understandable interests of the region to prevail over destructive violence. Mali welcomes and supports this peace initiative, because the quest for peace through genuine dialogue is one of the essential components of its own foreign policy and one of the major concerns of its people, as has been proved in other circumstances.

127. We are convinced that the Security Council will not deviate from its peaceful mission. It will recall that it was, indeed, in Central America that the idea—subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly—of proclaiming a year of peace, a month of peace and a day of peace originated. It will have to act to ensure that there are several months of peace in Central America to make it possible for the heads of State of the Contadora Group to complete their work far from the noise and rumblings of the machines of war. The foundations of that noble undertaking can already be glimpsed in the information bulletin which the Group published on 12 May at Panama City [*S/15762, annex*], foundations which they propose to consolidate by holding a meeting of the five Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central Amer-

ica from 28 to 30 May. It is also the duty of the Council to invite all the parties to the conflict in Central America to refrain from vain accusations and unfounded suspicions so that in the name of our peoples we may pledge ourselves, in the words of the Charter, "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security".

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is Mr. Ebrahim, observer from the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, which the Council decided [*2434th meeting*] to invite to participate in this debate in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

129. Mr. EBRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania): First and foremost, Sir, allow me to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of this important Council for the month of May. We are confident that under your able leadership it will make a valuable contribution to the cause of justice and peace. Allow me also to express sincere thanks to you and the members of the Council for giving the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania this opportunity to address the Council in this important debate.

130. The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the custodian of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania—the historical African name of *apartheid* South Africa—decided to make this statement after due and deliberate consideration. The motivating factor was our deep desire and long-standing quest for justice, as well as a fervent hope and call for a much needed recommitment to the sacred and lofty principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Our humble statement, therefore, is not aimed at castigating for the sake of castigating, or at scoring debating points; rather, it should be viewed as a genuine plea for justice and the rights of all people to live as free members of the human race under a system of their own choice.

131. The Sandinists only a few years ago were a national liberation movement, just like the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. They evolved as a national liberation movement not because of foreign or alien instigation but because of specific conditions in Nicaragua itself. The Somoza régime not only was oppressive, exploitative and brutal but also loyally served foreign imperialist interests, as opposed to the legitimate interests and well-being of ordinary Nicaraguans. The Sandinists succeeded in overthrowing the corrupt and oppressive Somoza dynasty precisely because that dynasty no longer commanded any respect or support from ordinary Nicaraguans. The opposition and hostility of ordinary Nicaraguans to the oppressive and subservient Somoza régime was so overwhelming that there was no alternative but for it to collapse and for its leaders to seek refuge abroad.

132. We too are a national liberation movement. Our emergence and subsequent development are due solely to the specific conditions in our country and not to "outside influence". Britain, the colonial Power, in 1910 handed over colonized Azania to European settlers, to the total exclusion of the rightful owners of that country, the African majority. One of the first acts of the all-white British-installed administration was to adopt the so-called Land Act of 1913, which gave the settler minority 87.3 per cent of the total land area, although they numbered less than one fifth of the total population. The African indigenous majority was arbitrarily allocated 12.7 per cent of the land, where currently the racist régime is establishing bantustans. In addition to this arbitrary and wholesale theft of the land, the British-installed régime systematically introduced and institutionalized racism in order effectively to exclude the vast majority from the instruments and organs of government and to ensure maximum exploitation of the indigenous majority in the interests of foreign imperialist Powers. Hence it is not surprising that profit returns in *apartheid* South Africa are among the highest in the world.

133. One does not need a degree in political science to appreciate the gross injustice so blatantly prevalent in the Union of South Africa Act adopted by the British Parliament and the logical evolvement of a racist, exclusivist and discriminatory system. So repugnant to the human conscience is the ***apartheid*** system that the international community has correctly come to describe it as a crime against humanity.

134. Academically speaking, the people of occupied Azania under the given circumstances have two choices: either to accept the imposed serfdom or to liberate themselves. But, in reality, they have only one choice, namely, to liberate themselves from the tyranny of the fascist oppressors, because no slave relishes slavery. Where mankind is oppressed, there will be resistance to that oppression. This is an objective fact of life.

135. The irony, however, is that this legitimate struggle by oppressed, exploited and dispossessed peoples is often described by some self-styled exponents of freedom and democracy as "acts of terrorism", while the blatant acts of the real oppressors and undemocratic forces—be they in the form of torture, massacres, occupation or the very violation of basic human rights—are condoned or encouraged by the self-same exponents of freedom and democracy. The truth is that such lofty principles as freedom and democracy have been made subservient to greedy subjective interests—currently the interests of the super-Powers.

136. The Reagan Administration has made it abundantly clear that the interests of American big business will prevail over everything else, even over the alliance with Western Europe. Did the Reagan Administration not apply pressure on Western European countries over the gas pipeline issue to harm their interests? Indeed, the Reagan Administration has declared itself the international gendarme and, therefore, arrogated the "right" to interfere globally.

137. There exists tangible evidence of the Administration's active involvement in Central America in particular and Latin America and the Caribbean in general. In the specific case of Nicaragua, the Reagan Administration has not hidden the fact that it wants to destabilize and eventually overthrow the popular Sandinist Government. The excuse advanced by the United States Administration is that the Sandinist Government, which is fervently committed to the policy of non-alignment in international relations and to the social progress of its people internally, poses a "threat" to the United States. It is inconceivable that an economically developing and agricultural country could pose any kind of military threat to a country which is the number-one producer of all kinds of lethal weapons in the world and the biggest arms merchant.

138. If liberated Nicaragua does not pose a military threat, does it pose any other kind of threat? Yes, it does. The Nicaraguan revolution, just as the American revolution once was, is a source of inspiration to all peoples fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation. For instance, the expulsion of the South African racists from Managua was a great source of encouragement to our people. However, the remedy to this "inspirational" threat is not the unleashing of mercenaries and discredited bandits against popular and liberation-oriented Governments, but a concerted war against corrupt, oppressive, dictatorial, racist and fascist régimes. Therein lies the everlasting remedy.

139. As an oppressed, exploited, discriminated-against and dispossessed people fighting for a just cause which is universally supported, we are greatly perturbed at the huge sums demanded by the Reagan Administration from Congress to wage a war against a people whose only "crime" was to fight with singular determination and courage for its national liberation and social emancipation. Such a precedent, if allowed to go unchecked, could pose serious threats to all those still fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation. The United Nations—especially the Security Council—has a special role to play in protecting victories scored by peoples against the enemies of mankind.

140. What is even more disturbing is that the American President is openly advocating, and is conniving to achieve, the overthrow of popular Governments, while at the same time wilfully shirking the noble responsibility of ending tyranny and removing illegal administrations and occupation forces elsewhere. For instance, the United States, itself a product of revolt against foreign domination and tyranny, has a special responsibility, as a leading member of the contact group, to remove the illegal presence of racist South Africa from Namibia.

141. Instead of honourably working towards the overthrow of an illegal administration and a system declared repugnant and a crime against humanity, the Reagan Administration has been openly encouraging racist South Africa's continued illegal presence in Namibia, the continued subjugation of the people of Namibia and the escalation of the conflict in that country and its heavy toll of lives, holding the innocent people of Namibia hostage in the game of super-Power politics. The Reagan Administration similarly continues to deny the dispossessed Palestinian people their inalienable and legitimate rights, while openly supporting Zionist terrorism, massacres, occupation and expansionism.

142. *Apartheid* has been correctly described and branded as a crime against humanity. Hence if there is any régime that needs to be totally eradicated, it is the fascist régime in Pretoria. What has been the attitude of the Reagan Administration towards the racist, fascist *apartheid* régime? It has been one of encouragement and consolation. We have been told that the Reagan Administration is pursuing a policy of constructive engagement. Can there be a constructive dialogue with self-professed racists? In essence the policy of constructive engagement means protecting the South African racists from international isolation and deserved condemnation. In our view the Reagan Administration would do well and serve mankind if it entered into constructive engagement with popular people-oriented Governments rather than régimes whose continued existence poses a very real threat to world peace.

143. As a national liberation movement we fully appreciate the need for peace after liberation to achieve the ultimate objective of the bitter struggle—namely, national reconstruction and the economic and social uplifting of the people as a whole. The Nicaraguans too want that peace desperately. Moreover, after having waged a heroic national liberation war, they are entitled to it. But equally we know that the overthrown oppressors and exploiters will still be used by interested parties. In the final analysis their counter-revolutionary activities will prove to have only nuisance value.

144. In conclusion, we know it is a futile exercise to ask the Reagan Administration to join the people and fight colonialism, oppression and racism, including zionism. That would be tantamount to asking one to cut off one's nose to spite one's face. However, the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, has a responsibility to end international terrorism unleashed by super-Powers in their mad drive for global hegemony. The Reagan Administration's war against the people of Nicaragua, the holding up of Namibia's legitimate independence by introducing extraneous and irrelevant issues and the open support rendered to the twin evils of our time, *apartheid* and zionism, are part of the global strategy aimed at subjugating people. The United States, having itself fought against foreign domination and exploitation, should be suitably placed to understand this truism—where there is oppression there will be resistance. But it is equally true that some people have short memories.

145. The oppressed, exploited and dispossessed peoples have always looked to the United Nations for their salvation and protection. They did so when they were fighting for their national liberation, as we are doing today, and

also after attaining it, as the Nicaraguans are doing today. This trust the United Nations must preserve. Should it fail it, it will be at its own peril.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

147. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me at the outset, Sir, to offer you the warm congratulations of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to wish you every success in carrying out your important task. I should also like to thank all the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to participate in this important debate.

148. Scarcely six weeks have elapsed, and the Council has to meet in order to examine for a second time the critical situation in Central America, which is a serious threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua as well as to peace and security in that entire region. After listening carefully to the various statements that have been made since 9 May on this item, my delegation believes that it is necessary to analyse and classify the latest military and political events that have occurred in recent days in Nicaragua and around it in order fully to grasp their nature and causes and determine accurately the most appropriate way in which to tackle them.

149. It is regrettable that since the last series of Council meetings to consider acts of aggression against Nicaragua the situation in Central America has worsened still further and that a fresh wave of events has taken place, with even more serious consequences threatening to lead to a direct confrontation between Nicaragua and its neighbours and to create explosive tensions throughout the region.

150. According to official Nicaraguan sources, after the attacks launched against Nicaragua by Somozist counter-revolutionary elements and after numerous violations of the airspace and territorial waters of Nicaragua between 14 and 27 April, a further large-scale invasion was launched on 30 April against Nicaragua. Thousands of Somozist counter-revolutionaries took part in that invasion, launched from Honduran territory, and further attacks took place last week against Nicaragua, attacks which were denounced yesterday before the Council by the Nicaraguan External Relations Minister himself [*2433rd meeting*]. Furthermore, four American naval vessels have been stationed in Nicaraguan territorial waters off the Pacific coast. If we add to this all the Somozist mercenaries who were recruited, armed, maintained and trained in various parts of the actual territory of the United States and who have been placed by the Central Intelligence Agency on the north-east frontier and along the southern frontier of Nicaragua, we have the picture of the complete military encirclement which is currently gravely threatening the sovereignty and independence of Nicaragua.

151. At the same time, the American Administration has not slackened the intensification of its lying and slanderous propaganda campaign against Nicaragua, thus attempting to put strong pressure on Congress and on the American people in the hope of winning their support for the new bellicose escalation against Nicaragua, the revolutionary forces in El Salvador and other peoples of Central America. The President of the United States himself went so far as to announce publicly the support and assistance given by the American Administration to the Somozist invaders.

152. A quick perusal of these recent events suffices to reveal the nature and pernicious origins of the situation, as well as the identity of those responsible for it. It is in fact the present Administration of the United States which is trying, by all means, to restore the dictatorial Somozist régime in Nicaragua as well as to maintain its dictatorial agents in El Salvador.

153. These imperialist manoeuvres and attempts have been exposed before the whole world. As usual, however, the American Administration is trying to ascribe its own misdeeds to others and to lend legitimacy to its own adventurous enterprises by falsely accusing Nicaragua of having transported weapons to the guerrillas in El Salvador.

154. However, the objective and watchful sector of public opinion, in America and elsewhere in the world, has not been fooled. As far as the people of Viet Nam is concerned, it has no difficulty in detecting the hand of Washington which is stepping up its threat against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua, against the freedom and independence of the Central American peoples and against international peace and security in Central America.

155. From its own experience as a victim of a lengthy war of aggression foisted upon it by the United States itself, Viet Nam is fully aware of the underlying reasons which prompt imperialist circles desperately to pursue their sinister designs, obstinately contriving to implement them one after the other. After the American defeats in Indo-China, the United States Government did in fact promise the American people that there would be no "second Viet Nam". Nevertheless, we should not conclude from this that the American imperialists, as well as other reactionary forces on the international scene, will no longer do any harm to the Vietnamese people or to other peoples struggling for their liberation. The American imperialists, in collusion with other great expansionist nations, are still doing it to us, but in a different way. Of course, it is extremely difficult for them at the present time to send American troops or others to wage war directly and overtly against peoples; they now prefer to pursue their activities of intervention and aggression *sub rosa*, through mercenaries who are recruited, financed, trained and organized in American territory and elsewhere in order then to be sent into whatever battlefield the imperialists may choose. The latter are also helping to promote the regrouping and military training of Vietnamese counter-revolutionary elements in order to use

them in the same dirty work assigned to other mercenaries engaged in schemes of destabilization, subversion and aggression against Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua and other countries.

156. The Security Council must live up to its responsibilities under the Charter and more determinedly than ever consider the seriousness of the situation in Central America in order more vigorously to influence the quest for a peaceful and negotiated solution of the crisis.

157. It would be necessary first of all, however, to reject as totally baseless the allegation of the so-called "defence of the interests of the American nation", an allegation proffered by the United States in the hope of lending legitimacy to its acts of intervention and aggression in Nicaragua, El Salvador and throughout the region.

158. One need only listen carefully to that sector of public opinion that cherishes peace and justice and that has recently become more vociferous in American society to realize just how far the escalation of warlike plans and actions by the United States in Central America has been the object of disapproval and criticism. American opinion has quite properly pointed out that when war was waged by the United States against Viet Nam the various American Administrations during that time frequently had occasion to invoke "the defence of the security of the United States and the free world" as a pretext for their aggressive adventures. It might well be hoped therefore that this time the American people will not allow this same deadly mistake to be repeated in Nicaragua or in El Salvador.

159. Fortunately, meeting at this time to study Nicaragua's complaint, the Council has indeed rejected the ridiculous allegation I have just referred to, has recognized the validity of the Nicaraguan action and has honoured its responsibilities under the Charter.

160. It is already crystal-clear who is carrying out threats and aggression and who is their victim. It is none other than the United States which is engaged in constant manoeuvres of encirclement and provocation and is carrying out acts of aggression, a kind of war of destruction on various levels against Nicaragua with the obvious purpose of weakening the Sandinist National Liberation Front and ultimately toppling the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua. But the heroic people of Nicaragua is fully determined to fight to the finish to defend its freedom and independence. It is indeed fortunate that the people of Nicaragua has many friends throughout the world, among them the Vietnamese people, which will stand behind them to the very end.

161. A whole series of initiatives, including those of the Contadora Group, has already been taken to try to put an end to all acts of aggression and intervention against Nicaragua and to find a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Central America. With a commendable sense of responsibility and remarkable restraint, the Government of Nicaragua in particular has constantly put forward proposals for dialogue and negotiations with its immediate neighbours and also with the Government of the United States in order to settle by peaceful means all the problems which divide them. A very positive step was taken in the undoubtedly useful direct contacts between the Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. We can only regret the singularly negative attitude displayed thus far by the United States Government towards these repeated gestures of good will and peace on the part of the Government of Nicaragua.

162. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to give its warm and unflagging support to this constructive and responsible position taken by the Government of Nicaragua. We support especially that Government's proposal for discussions with the United States on the normalization of relations between the two countries, as well as its proposal that bilateral negotiations be held and that non-aggression treaties be concluded immediately with any country which feels the need for them.

163. The analysis of the situation and the constructive proposals put forward in recent days in the Council by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua accurately reflect this consistent desire for peace and for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Confident of the rightness and justice of its cause, the Government of Nicaragua is once again appealing for the hotheads in Washington to cool down and requesting that the Security Council take effective steps to put an end to all acts of intervention and aggression against Nicaragua and to exert a positive influence on the process of dialogue aimed at removing the threat to Nicaragua and resolving the crisis in Central America by peaceful means, including the good offices of the Secretary-General, on the basis of respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and respect for the sovereign equality of States and for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

164. Once again, the Vietnamese delegation expresses its full support for this legitimate request of the Government of Nicaragua, the purpose of which is to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua, the independence and freedom of the peoples of Central America, and peace and security in that region of the world.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/38/68, annex.

[2] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, Vol. I*, 23rd meeting, para. 32.

[3] General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex, para. 2, section I, subparagraph (*b*).

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